WAR & PEACE

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The Big Business Budget: 68% for means of war, and 5% for people's needs

By Tabitha Petran

THE President's budget message to Congress put a price tag on his "new" foreign-military policy. This dollar sign cast revealing light on Washington's approach to the deepening crisis of its policies. The fiscal 1955 budget (June '54 to June '55) represents:

● **A war budget.** Of its $65.6 billion, 68% is for war preparations; 22% for charges fixed by law (mostly payment on past wars); roughly 5% for cost of government; and 5% for the people's welfare. This, although the Korean War is ended and Western governments including Washington see no possibility of an attack on the U.S. In 1941, a year of intense war preparations and real war danger, war preparations took 48.5% of the budget; social security and labor alone, over 20%.

● **A break with Truman war budgets.** Under Truman, war spending leaped from $17.8 billion in fiscal 1950 to 26.4, 47.2, 52.8 billion in succeeding years. Appropriations were much higher (in 1952 bigger than actual war spending in 1943, the height of World War II). The unspent balance for war was $79 billion as of last June.

Truman war budgets were headed toward $100 billion a year. As projected by Eisenhower, there will be no such geometric leap upward, but the Administration's claims of substantial cuts in war spending are highly exaggerated. Such spending will level off this year and in fiscal 1955; the decline in new appropriations asked will, unless revised upward, tend toward a lower level in future years.

The Eisenhower approach reflects business fears that the recent fantastic war spending threatened bankruptcy. Between June, 1946, and June, 1953,

(Continued on Page 3)

Feelin' like a billion →

High spirit was the keynote at the General Motors "Motorama" luncheon in New York where GM pres. Harlow M. Curtice (c.) announced a GM billion dollar expansion program. Credit, he said, was due to the Eisenhower Administration's "restoring the foundations of a free economy." Sharing the good feeling are Defense Secy. Charles E. Wilson (r.), former GM pres., and bd. chairman Alfred P. Sloan Jr.

STEVE & MARGARET NELSON
There's a turn in the road

5-YEAR SMITH ACT TERM STANDS

Nelson's 20-year sentence voided

IN a 4-to-1 ruling, the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court last Monday reversed the conviction of Steve Nelson under a 1919 State Sedition Act and quashed the indictment against him so that he may not be tried again. Nelson had been sentenced to 20 years imprisonment and fined $10,000. The court held that the state law is superseded by the federal Smith Act under which Nelson has been sentenced to five years; that conviction is now on appeal. (See next week's GUARDIAN for detailed story.)

James H. Dolsen, a Nelson co-defendant in the sedition case now serving his 20 years in Blawnox Workhouse, last week applied for bail to the State Superior Court pending a possible appeal by the prosecution from the Supreme Court ruling. Sentencing of Andrew Onda, a third defendant, was ordered postponed indefinitely or until final disposition of the case.

The attack on organized labor by government and big business is getting sharper. See stories on pages 5 & 6—and do what you can to fight back.

The Civil Rights Congress in New York announced a Nelson Victory Rally on Fri., Feb. 5, at 8 p.m. in the Chateau Gardens at 105 E. Houston St., Man.

Build the Guardian — Every Reader Get A Reader — See Report to Readers, Page 2

"FREEDOM OF CHOICE" FOR 21,000 KOREAN PW'S

Old shoes and burning flesh

Stockholm, January 9 (United Press): Gunnar Wessman, member of the Swedish delegation on the United Nations Neutral Repatriation Commission, reported here today on the difficulties which the commission encountered in investigating acts of atrocity and of terror in the camps of those prisoners who did not wish to be repatriated.

Wessman related how anti-Communist prisoners tortured and murdered one of their fellow-prisoners who wanted to return home. The heart of the murdered man was cut out and cooked and all the inmates of those respective camps forced to eat a piece of it.

"The investigation of this incident was very difficult," Wessman explained. "At first the corpse was hidden under a tent, but when several prisoners were interrogated, other prisoners took the corpse into the kitchen and burned it. To camouflage the odor of burning flesh, they threw shoes in the fire."

Since the body was entirely burned up, there was no way to prove that the murder had taken place. When the prisoners were questioned about the incident, they answered "I have bad eyes" or "I can't hear properly."

From the "Neue Zuricher Zeitung," Switzerland, Jan. 12, p. 2, col. 1.

THIS gruesome story was published, for the first time to our knowledge in the U.S., in **I.F. Stone's Weekly,** Jan. 25. **Zuricher Zeitung** is one of Europe's most highly regarded newspapers. The story also was printed, according to Stone, in the Stockholm daily **Dagens Nyheter** on Jan. 10, which described Wessman as an associate judge of the Swedish courts.

Stone came on the story after several attempts to obtain a copy of the UN Repatriation Commission report handed in Dec. 28, 1953. The report has "disappeared." UN correspondents, Stone says, have been told it is a U.S. "unified command" military document. The Pentagon said it was a "classified" report, then reversed itself to say it was a UN document. In any case it is not available to the press, and the Wessman story above indicates why.

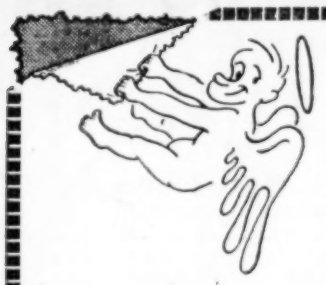
Two weeks ago Stone finally got a portion of the report's conclusions which he printed in his weekly of Jan. 11 (Rm. 205, 301 E. Capitol St., Washington 3, D.C.). These disclosed that the minority report of the Swedes and Swiss (the majority report by the Indians, Czechs and Poles was highly critical of U.S. conduct in the repatriation actions) declared that violence and murder in the anti-Communist compounds had prevented freedom of choice.

CAME THE DAWN: Last week 21,000 Chinese and N. Korean POW's who "refused repatriation" under the circumstances Wessman described were being "processed" by Chiang and Rhee officials in Formosa and S. Korea. Indian newsmen had reported that in the compounds these POW's were "pampered and rewarded for their political somersault," given twice the food ration of Indian custodial troops, promised "jobs, homes and even wives." In the N.Y. **Times** (1/22) Robert Alden reported from S. Korea:

"Most of the N. Korean POW's will serve in the S. Korean Army. . . . Officials . . . are confident most of them will volunteer. . . . It did not make much difference whether the men volunteered because 'they'll come back to us in the draft anyway.'

"The captives . . . will get no money, and it may be presumed that after three years in prison they have none of their own. . . . They will not receive any furlough before beginning their training. . . . Those who say they do not wish to join the army will be screened . . . and then handed over to the custody of the Minister of Home Affairs [who] controls the national police.

". . . The prisoners came after an 18-hour trip in a tightly packed boxcar. . . . [They] marched through the rain to a big compound of squad tents. Normally these tents hold from 8 to 14 U.S. soldiers. Forty-five Korean prisoners were assigned to each of the tents."



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REPORT TO READERS

On new readers

THE LATE RAYMOND CLAPPER, a noted journalist who died in World War II, had a maxim very much to our point today: "Never underestimate the intelligence of the people, nor overestimate their knowledge."

Now, at the start of 1954, we of the GUARDIAN would like to ask YOU to apply this in terms of enlarging our readership.

The Cadillac Cabinet and the financial structure which controls its actions have a wholesome respect for the intelligence of the people of this country—which is why they have to work overtime to substitute misinformation for the facts of life.

Col. Frank Schwable, the veteran Marine officer who is now up for court-martial for discussing germ warfare with his captors as a POW, made the telling observation in his original statement on germ warfare that the military's main problem was to keep the facts of it from the people at home. The point was that the victims would very soon be aware of it, but that the people at home would be repelled to the point of repudiating the U.S. military if they were convinced germ warfare was being employed. Schwable recanted upon repatriation, but the fact that he is now nevertheless up for court-martial indicates that some of what he said hit home.

OUR POINT TO YOU is that Americans have a tradition of acting on the facts, and that it is our job to keep our fellow-citizens armed with facts to act on.

The GUARDIAN this week has some facts of outstanding importance. The story about Brazil, our biggest near neighbor, has not yet appeared in any English-language paper in America. So that people can get a straight look at what's going on at the Berlin conference, we have a documented analysis of its background. Eisenhower's housing proposals are presented in context with the doubletalk winnowed away. The account of the open Jenner-Butler-McCarthy collaboration with union-busting corporations such as General Electric shows how far our warning in the Eisenhower Administration's earliest days was justified —that organized labor would be its prime target.

The public needs all these facts to understand the why of high prices, inadequate wages, growing unemployment; to see that organized labor is the guardian of the American standard of living. These facts are the GUARDIAN's stock-in-trade.

THE ORIGINAL CIRCULATION of the GUARDIAN was built by our earliest readers signing up their "four friends," and many of the four friends then doing likewise. We've got to get this kind of thing going again.

It is every circulation department's dream that—just once!—the slogan "Every Reader Get a Reader" will catch on.

We can't know the precise arguments to make this catch on with you, personally—but YOU yourself know the answer to that. All you have to do is convince yourself—and act NOW on the handy coupon below. —THE EDITORS

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THE MAIL BAG

Baldwin's articles

BARRON, WIS.

I took great interest in C. B. Baldwin's article (Jan. 11) aimed at sparking interest in the progressive movement among the American masses, especially the idea of getting the masses in motion demanding their minimum desires and needs.

This was done in 1932 and the fact that the opposition forces are today somewhat better guarded by McCarthyism, etc., is no reason why it cannot be done today.

It is essential that the members of their respective organizations call a halt to their leadership trailing after a political party disinterested in the welfare of the people. They must now put forth their minimum demands to be supported by the leadership even if it means a change in leadership.

To take the offensive instead of being afraid of fascism (which is not here but will be if we delay) is, I believe, correct. Edwin Johnson

Probing the schools

MARTINS FERRY, O.

A reader in Chicago (GUARDIAN, 1/11) mentions the fact that "no Roman Catholics in government are being harassed by McCarthy" and would like to know if they "are escaping the terror of revocations of citizenship and deportation."

Our free public schools are being investigated by the McCarthy Gang to ascertain whether or not teachers therein may be indoctrinating their pupils with the tenets of communism. If any parochial schools have been investigated to ascertain if their teachers are indoctrinating their pupils with the tenets of fascism, I should like to see the results publicized.

George F. Curry

Wall Street Journal

"Bentley, what's this I hear about you giving somebody one yesterday?"

Hills of Oakland

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

We've recently moved to this part of the country from the Midwest. I've been to Oakland a few times and every where you go there is a hill and there is a view from the hill. Alcatraz consumes the whole horizon, and everywhere I go Morton Sobell is on my mind. From every view I can see him there moving around, breathing, thinking and longing for freedom just as I do. Sometimes the interpreters of great ideas pay a hellishly high price for freedom that most of us casually accept. V. B.

The Tonasket view

TONASKET, WASH.

Things are tightening up in this state most decidedly. Apple men are in very good shape, but the cattle men are hit pretty hard. And so are timber workers. Five saw mills are in or near this little town. Three are closed; one more slowing down, will likely close; one may limp thru the winter. Not much building tho building is needed. Believe since the start of the "Truman War," the U.S.A. has squandered ONE HUNDRED billion dollars of American taxpayer money roasting alive with napalm bombs North Korean women and children; and in buying, bribing, bluffing, bulldozing and begging "allegiance" against Soviet Russia, North Korea, China and God and Progress.

Money spent in the actual or planned mass murder of men will boom business. The same money spent in helpful ways will boom biz just the same and give us gainful results, instead of maimed men, misery at home and abroad, the hate of invaded lands. The Townsend Plan could have been financed for some years with that hundred billion, and not one killing recorded.

J. Parkhurst Douglass

How crazy can you get dept.

BERLIN, Dec. 31—Two American ex-prisoners . . . described Soviet prison camps tonight as "hell holes" where men died daily or worked without hope amid brutality and chaos. . . . Merchant seaman Leland Towers said: "I was . . . in a political prison and civilian slave labor camps." The prison was "fantastic" and the camps the "worst in the north." . . . Towers claimed he was in a lumbering camp. He explained his smooth hands, unscarred by heavy labor, by saying the Russians kept him supplied with gloves.

San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 1.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: H. J. Wood, Santa Cruz, Calif.

He liked the watch

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

I have just received from your Buying Service a heavy duty 17-jewel Garon watch and found it satisfactory in every way. It arrived in good condition. Please send me whatever catalogue or other material you may have, as I will want to purchase articles from time to time.

Wallace L. Kibbee

Catalogue available to all other readers who write for it. Address Guardian Buying Service, 17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

Sahara and the tundras

HADDAM, KANS.

I would say to Elmer Fish that I believe the cry about population increase and production of food alarms are mostly capitalistic way of thinking. Science says for the cost of two years of World War II the entire Sahara Desert could have been irrigated.

The Soviet Union is working on the idea of using atom bombs to melt the ice in the Arctic regions, thus warming up the vast acres of the tundras for production.

When the war craze is eliminated from human mind, wealth and thoughts will be released to conquer nature, instead of nation conquering nation. Ruby G. Heck

The JAFRC fight

NEW YORK, N.Y.

For over 12 years the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee has brought relief from misery to thousands of exiled Spanish Republicans. During and after the war it collected and distributed funds as a tax exempt relief agency, and the books of the Committee were regularly audited and financial reports were made to President Roosevelt's War Relief Control Board.

Last spring the Attorney General sent the JAFRC a stereotyped set of charges and asserted that the JAFRC should register as a "Communist-front" organization under the McCarran Act. The JAFRC faces the threat of being outlawed, and it is now in the midst of a legal battle before the McCarran Act's Subversive Activities Control Board. This will be a long and costly fight.

I don't think this attack will stop the JAFRC from aiding exiled Spanish Republicans, nor from highlighting important information about the Franco regime. But the JAFRC will be stopped—and much more besides!—if you and I permit this suppressive maneuver to succeed. Will you help us win the struggle for the rights of the JAFRC, and for your rights as excised through such a committee?

I urgently appeal to you to indicate your support and send your contribution—at once.

Ralph H. Gundlach, Chairman
Citizens to Defend JAFRC
Suite 200, 23 W. 26 St., N. Y. 10

P.S.: Please make checks payable to Clifford T. McAvoy, Treas.

Smith Act—and after

MUSKEGON HTS., MICH.

I note with satisfaction your stories of the attack on the use of the 5th Amendment—but in my considered opinion the much more important issue is the 1st Amendment, the basis of all our liberty and freedoms as loyal U.S. citizens. My observance and unalterable convictions are that all Congress members who voted for the Smith Act and the six judges who declared it constitutional violated their oath of office to uphold the Constitution. For the 1st Amendment specifically commands that Congress shall not make any law abridging the rights of free speech, a free press, the right of assembly or to petition a grievance. The passage of the Smith Act promoted McCarthyism, an unlawful force that has created more disunity in our citizenship than anything since our Civil War.

O. T. Beckley

For Vincent Hallinan

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Dear Vincent Hallinan:

The applause had not ended after your statement had been read at our last meeting before a resolution was unanimously adopted to send you our greeting in appreciation.

We find ourselves somewhat in the position of Emerson looking through the bars at Thoreau in jail. "What are you doing in there?" said Emerson. "What are you doing out there?" said Thoreau. At the rate the net is spreading you may soon not only find all of us in there with you, but you may find yourself in most uncongenial and unworthy company, such as, for instance, Harry S. Truman. Right now we can only work for the bright day that we feel is sure to come, when you, on your way out of jail, with full acknowledgement of the injustice done you, will meet ex-Sen. Joseph McCarthy on his way into jail for income tax evasion, the least of his crimes.

We deeply share the horror of your friends in California that you should be disbarred and disfranchised, and we are resolved that your full citizenship MUST be restored as the fight goes on. Don't think for a moment that we "shall not notice your absence." When you were in jail before we celebrated your absence by nominating you for President. Be assured that we think even more of you now than we did then!

N.Y. County Exec. Comm.
American Labor Party

"We know what happens to people who stay in the middle of the road. They get run down."

—ANEURIN BEVAN, MP.

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IS THE U. S. PREPARING A FAILURE IN ADVANCE?

What you need to know about the Big 4 Conference

WITH top "psychological in-fighting specialist" C. D. Jackson (formerly of **Time-Life-Fortune**) accompanying Secy. Dulles, a U. S. delegation was in Berlin last week for the first Big Four Foreign Ministers' conference since 1949. Jackson's presence foreshadowed an all-out U. S. propaganda effort to misinform the world and blame the U. S. S. R. if the talks fail, which Washington evidently wanted them to do.

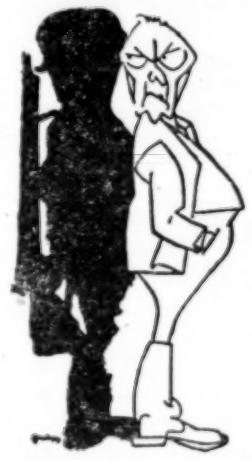
Dulles was determined to discuss German unification only on terms that amount to Moscow's unconditional surrender: a unified Germany must rearm and join the Western alliance. "Free elections for the creation of an all-German government is the proposed instrument for achieving that aim" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 1/24). For Washington, "free elections" mean creating the "proper conditions" in E. Germany (Reston, N. Y. **Times,** 1/25)—i.e., instituting Western control. The same position, maintained by then Secy. of State Acheson, scuttled the Foreign Ministers' meeting in May, 1949.

The U. S. has opposed unity except on these terms ever since "the abrupt switch in American policy toward Germany" after Roosevelt's death (Lionel Gelber, **The American Anarchy,** Schuman, 1953). The switch was made behind the "studied reticence" of mass-communication media which

> ". . . promoted this fateful volte-face unquestioningly; Congress . . . proceeded on the unexamined hypothesis that Germany's interests would lie with the West . . . World War III can result from such irresponsibility."

ROOTLESS U. S. POLICY: Roosevelt's program (Yalta, Potsdam) provided for a democratic, denazified, demilitarized Germany, a bridge between East and West. The U. S. financial powers which took control of German policy when Roosevelt died aimed to restore to power the forces which created Hitlerism (with whom they were closely tied); to keep Germany divided; to use their half as a springboard for war against the U. S. S. R. The steps by which this policy of "disastrous mistakes" was put into effect are outlined in James P. Warburg's **Germany, Key to Peace** (Harvard, 1953); it has resulted in

> ". . . a half-Europe which cannot live except on subsidy and which is 'united' only through the shotgun marriage of governments subservient



> to the Washington paymaster but without roots in popular support."

The U. S. S. R. has continued to base its policy on the Potsdam agreement which the U. S. and Britain signed but "are desirous of forgetting" (C. L. Sulzberger, **NYT,** 1/26).

When the West moved in 1948 to set up a W. German state, Moscow proposed 4-power talks to restore 4-power government and prepare withdrawal of occupation troops. The West ignored this. When the Soviet bloc Foreign Ministers issued an 8-point declaration on Germany from Prague in 1950, Acheson denounced it as "effrontery" although it in no way contradicted Western terms for unity outlined four months earlier. (Western terms left out any reference to W. German remilitarization and inclusion in NATO, then being furiously speeded. The West was embarrassed when the U. S. S. R. took them up.)

WHAT MOSCOW PROPOSES: After the abortive deputy Foreign Ministers' talks in March-June, 1951, and the failure of repeated E. German efforts to get direct negotiations started with Chancellor Adenauer, the U. S. S. R. again proposed (3/10/52) 4-power talks, submitting for discussion a draft German peace treaty which Warburg termed the "most specific . . . most reasonable" Soviet proposal yet. As elaborated in subsequent notes, the U. S. S. R. proposes a plan to give Germany a peace treaty, national unity and independence, and her neighbors security guarantees. The chief points:

- A peace conference of all countries concerned, with E. and W. German govts. represented to work out a treaty.
- E. and W. German parliaments, with co-operation of democratic organizations, to set up an all-German provisional government to arrange and carry out all-German elections without foreign interference.
- A program for easing financial-economic obligations arising out of the war, with reparations ended and cost of maintaining occupation troops not to exceed annually 5% of E. and W. German national revenues. (This is already in effect in E. Germany; cost of occupation troops to W. Germany is 35% of budget.)
- Germany not to enter into any coalition or military alliance directed against any country whose armed forces took part in war with Germany.

THE TRUMPS: What the U. S. S. R. has proposed—a neutral, unified Germany— is seen by a growing number of U. S. commentators as what U. S. national interests demand. Its accord with the interests of all European countries, and of the German people, is obvious—in contrast to present U. S. policy, which is so contrary to these interests it can only be maintained by force and threat. This is the basic strength of Soviet policy which has propelled the U. S. unwillingly to the conference table. Dulles will certainly try to torpedo the talks. But on Germany Moscow holds the trump cards:

- Only Moscow can give Germany unity, which any German government must seek. The push for unity in W. Germany is suggested in a N. Y. **Daily News** report (12/29) of a plan for achieving unity worked out by W. Germans in consultation with the E. German Foreign Minister, calling for elections in both Germanies to a parliament which would draft a constitution with the present governments remaining in power until it is ratified.
- Moscow can give Germany needed markets. Furthermore, the sharpening fight for markets in the capitalist world is slowly transforming the Schuman Plan (W. Germany's "common market" agreement with France, Benelux and Italy) from an instrument of U. S. domination to a huge cartel directed against the U. S.—the economic base for a "third force."
- The U. S. has built up W. Germany to the point where it can thumb its nose at Washington if it likes. Adenauer's policy is to play East and West against each other; it seems increasingly aimed at blocking 4-power agreement to leave the way open for direct Soviet-German negotiations when Bonn wins its sovereignty. Frankfurt's **Allgemeine Zeitung,** which often reflects Bonn official views, said (10/3) that such negotiations would develop "a European policy which ultimately aims at the creation of a third force," and even suggested this could lead to liquidation of U. S. bases in Europe.
- The Soviet H-bomb virtually nullifies German anti-Soviet military strategy.
- Growing resistance to W. German rearmament and to European integration in France makes a united Western front impossible.

Washington's bargaining position on Germany is steadily growing weaker. The danger is that it will seek to remedy this position by war.

This UP man ought to write for the Guardian

NEW YORK—UP—The editors of Time Magazine announced today the selection of Chancellor Konrad Adenauer as 1953's "Man of the Year."

Only once before in 27 years has Time's "Man of the Year" been a German—Adolf Hitler in 1938.

—Milkaukee Sentinel, Dec. 30.

Wells' death date Apr. 9; Gov. Knight is last hope

California's Superior Judge Ray T. Coughlin on Jan. 18 shut the last legal door to life for Wesley Robert Wells by refusing to grant the 44-year-old Negro a new trial and fixing his execution "by lethal gas" in San Quentin Prison on Fri., April 9. Only Gov. Goodwin J. Knight can now save the man whose "capital offense" was that in a state of extreme emotional tension he threw a cuspidor at and injured a prison guard. While Wells' attorneys file clemency papers, the public campaign in his behalf continues. The best way to help is to write Gov. Knight, Sacramento, Calif. The Committee to Save Wesley Robert Wells is at 326 W. 3d St., Los Angeles 13, Calif.

The Budget

(Continued from page 1)

$180 billion was actually spent on war and war preparations; by this June the figure will be $230 billion. War appropriations in these years totaled around $300 billion. One writer commented: "The Defense Dept. already expends such a huge share of the national budget that nobody can comprehend what it does with the money."

- **A budget for big business.** Of nearly 100 proposed tax reforms, "all the important ones . . . are designed to stimulate [business] investment . . . [which] has to come from the rich, near rich, and business and these are the people getting the chief benefit from the reforms" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 1/24). **Business Week** (1/23) noted that "a dozen recommendations affecting consumers' tax payments . . . don't add up to much relief in terms of dollars." This tax relief for the rich is the sum and substance of the Administration's anti-recession program.

A PLACE IN THE SUN: The whole budget reflects big business' accelerated drive for profits at the expense of the American people, in a period of "limited peace — limited depression" which **BW** describes as a "sunny plateau." Government spending is not being used to try to "reflate" the economy, but still provides "a powerful underpinning" (**BW,** 1/23). The announcement of General Motors pres. Curtice that GM will invest $1 billion for expansion in the next two years underlines the character of the "sunny plateau." Hailed as proof that big business is doing its bit to maintain "prosperity," this is a move in a cut-throat war to eliminate rival giants.

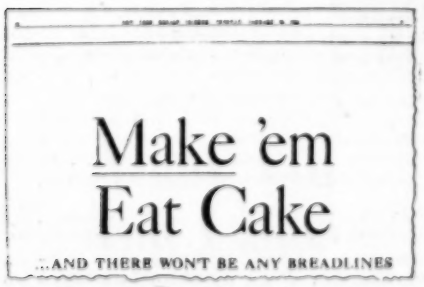
The **Wall St. Journal** (1/21) commented: "Some folks in the auto-making business may take an awful beating in 1954." Current joke among Detroit wiseacres, said **BW** (1/23), is: "We'll have a 5½-million-car year—if **GM has** to build every one of them." Share of GM and Ford in auto production rose from 65% in 1952 to 71% in the first nine months of 1953, to 81% today. Chrysler's share dropped; that of five independents tumbled from 17% to 9.7%, to 4.1% today. The auto war is greased by lush war profits: in the three-year Korean War period GM again topped all war contractors; its contracts totaled over $7 billion. Similar wars—similarly fueled—are under way in other industries. And these wars —concentrating on labor-saving, automatized production—spell trouble for labor.

SOLEMN QUESTIONS: The budget raises two related questions: How will the Administration react if the present business slide cannot be "limited"? How will it meet the deepening crisis in its foreign policy, spotlighted now in the Berlin talks? The "new" foreign-military policy—open threat of atomic war—which the budget is presented as mirroring provides the answers, showing where Washington's policy will lead, if it is not reversed.

Arms programs, as big-business economist William E. Bober told the Natl. Industrial Conference Board in 1952, don't usually hit peaks, then decline. He added that it would be "wiser if we thought of ourselves as preparing for war," and predicted tax relief for big business would come only during an "intermediate period."

THE PEOPLE'S DECISION: The strength of the world demand for peace makes it possible for the people to ensure that the "intermediate period" leads to settlement, not war. But the "greatest danger" of the atomic-threat policy, writes Hanson Baldwin (N.Y. **Times,** 1/24) "is its ultimate political bankruptcy."

The growing frustration of U. S. policy, coupled with an economic program which can only accelerate the developing economic crisis, underlines the danger that Washington will resort to the ultimate bankruptcy—war.



ANTI-DEPRESSION PSYCHOLOGY
Half of a full-page ad in the N.Y. "Herald Tribune" urging business to sell more to people who have no money to buy.

Interlandi in Los Angeles Daily News
"It's not so much the Reds in government I'm worried about, but the government in red . . . you may not quote me."

WORDS AND PICTURES

There are fewer cartoons and photos than usual in this issue because we had so much news to crowd in. Unhappiest man in the office this week is the art editor. He'll be back fighting next week.

BRAZIL: A people set to cut its chains?

By Elmer Bendiner

ON NEW YEAR'S DAY the Communist daily **Imprensa Popular** of Rio de Janeiro wished its readers a happy new year and added that "it lies in our hands, the hands of the people, to win this year's happiness."

The Communist Party of Brazil is illegal but defies suppression. It publishes more than 30 papers throughout the country (most of them sold on newsstands, read openly on trains, well used by advertisers.) CP representatives sit in the Chamber of Deputies and in state legislatures. The party's leader, Luis Carlos Prestes, a national hero, is theoretically in hiding, but "Viva Prestes" is scrawled on countless workers' homes. Generals and priests speak of him with an awe North Americans reserve for Lincoln.

"NATIONAL TREASON": **Imprensa Popular's** New Year banner headline, in red type more than an inch high, read: "The Program of the Communist Party of Brazil." The "fugitive" Prestes signed a page-one box offering the program for discussion by "democratic organizations, the various political parties, patriots and democrats of all opinions and tendencies."

The program details the state of the nation: its vast riches (it is larger than the U.S. and its resources have never been fully measured); the domination of its whole life by U.S. interests; the misery of the people with 70% living on the land but owing no part of it, with thousands in flight from drought and flood dying on the highways.

The picture, drawn in detail, made Brazil look like China before the liberation from Japan; President Vargas looked like Chiang Kai-shek. His administration was called a U.S. instrument and a government of "national treason."

SPADE TO THE ROOTS: In language recalling the U.S. Declaration of Independence the document recited the Brazilian people's grievances, the government's violations of the constitution, the suppression or corruption of trade unions, jailing of dissidents, police assaults on strikers, perpetuation of feudalism on the land. The CP declared it would be useless to exchange the present regime for another Vargas, erroneous to imagine

> ". . . it would be possible to free Brazil from the catastrophe that threatens it or lift the yoke of American imperialists by means of a coup d'etat, by partial reforms or elections without touching the foundations of the present reactionary regime."

Present literacy requirements disfranchise more than half the population, deny the vote to soldiers and sailors, allow for widespread terror and fraud. With other roads to liberation apparently blocked, the conclusion seemed inescapable that in CP eyes at least the times called for such mass resistance as would make it impossible for Vargas to continue to govern.

The CP said that though it stands for socialism, "economic, political and social conditions" in Brazil do not allow for present socialist transformations. Instead the CP proposed a 45-point program for a government that would come "out of the liberating struggle of our people." It was a recipe for establishing a people's democracy in America.

Photo by Skliar

". . . A LIVING REALITY FOR THE HAPPINESS OF OUR PEOPLE. . . ."
For these Brazilian children a chance to eat and to learn

POWER FOR THE PEOPLE: The first three points would

> ". . . nullify all existing treaties and agreements with the U.S., harmful to national interests . . . confiscate all capital and enterprises belonging to U.S. monopolies operating in Brazil . . . cancel Brazil's external debt to the U.S. government and North American banks . . . expel from Brazil all North American military, cultural, economic and technical missions."

The Brazilian senate, ancient seat of power of the aristocracy, would be abolished. All power would go to a Congress directly elected by the people; governing bodies, including the courts, would be elected by vote of all over 18 without regard to race, residence, property, sex or literacy. The people would have the right of instant recall of any elected official at any time.

A President would be elected directly by the people for a six-year term but his council of ministers would be responsible not to him but to the Congress.

FREEDOM AND ABUNDANCE: The Brazilian people's democracy would guarantee freedom from illegal seizure, the inviolability of persons' homes, the right to think, speak, assemble, print, attend religious services, move about the country. But it would punish those who discriminate for reasons of race, religion or nationality and who propagandize for war.

Protection of the foreign-born would be guaranteed even to providing instruction in the mother-tongue for the children of immigrants. Women would be guaranteed completely equal rights not only in pay but in inheritance, marriage, divorce, public service. Special legislation would provide for maternity and infant care.

The currently hollow rights to a free primary education would be implemented with a network of schools. (Athletics is dealt with in a separate article calling for the construction of stadiums, playing fields and cinder tracks.) Tax relief, flood control, aid to drought victims, health programs and swiftly-built, inexpensive housing were all charted in the program.

INDUSTRY, LABOR, LAND: This was the outlook for the businessman in the blueprinted new Brazil: businesses and capital of the "national bourgeoisie" (those without U.S. connections) would not be confiscated. Foreign imports which tend to hinder Brazil's industrial development would be banned. Peacetime industry would be encouraged, industrialization pushed, using the capital and plants of confiscated U.S.-connected companies. Industry would be helped by liberal credit terms and facilities to buy machinery. Foreign capital would be welcomed, but only if it aided Brazil's development of an independent national economy and if it was offered consistent with Brazil's laws.

The high confidence of Brazilians stems from the knowledge that they would not be dependent on the U.S. for markets or as a source of machinery. The readiness of the socialist half of the world for both jobs and trade with all nations is a cardinal point in the CP program.

A worker's code provides for social security, trade unions free to bargain with the government or private industry, a minimum wage law, 44-hour week, 8-hour day (6 hours for minors and those who work underground). All forms of forced labor and punitive fines for those who fail to show up at their jobs would be abolished.

Big landowners' estates would be confiscated and turned over to farmers with too little or no land, who would get full legal title. Existing feudal systems including sharecropping would be abolished, and all agricultural labor paid cash wages at least equal to an unskilled industrial worker's. Property rights of rich or poor farmers would be protected, their debts to large landholders, moneylenders, banks or North American imperialist interests canceled; they would get cheap long-term credit for the purchase of machinery, irrigation and insecticides. Prices for farmer and consumer would be controlled.

VICTORY THROUGH UNITY: In offering the outlines of the new state for consideration of Brazilian progressives, the CP warned: "The Vargas government will not surrender without a fight," and pointed to the crowded jails as grim evidence. But it sized up the opposition ready to move and called for

> ". . . an alliance of workers and farmers to which can be rallied the patriotic scientists, intellectuals, writers, artists, technicians, professors, persons of all professions who also suffer in the present situation of the country and who do not wish to be slaves of American colonizers."

The document did not refer to the coming conference of the Organization of American States in Caracas, Venezuela, next March, but it furnished this note for the consideration of pro-State Dept. diplomats:

> "American imperialists wish to make Brazil the principal base for complete colonization of Latin America, but the CP of Brazil considers that the Brazilian people now have all the conditions necessary for victory in the patriotic battle against the enslaving rule of the U.S. and for popular democracy. [It] calls on all Brazilian patriots to fight together to transform this program into a living reality for the happiness of our people and the glory of our country."

Putting it frankly

Between the imbecilic policies of the American State Dept. and the paralysis of initiative of business leaders who are responsible for big enterprise in Latin America . . . communization of the other America proceeds as planned.

Unless you gentlemen of the American business world do your part to create an informed public opinion about this Red Peril South, where will you and your stockholders end up?

—Economic Council Papers, pub. by Natl. Economic Council, Inc. (N.Y.), Aug. 15, 1953.

The new Americanism

Excerpts from an interview with the Washington News (as quoted in the N.Y. Post, 1/20), by Carl L. Shipley, past pres. of the D.C. Young Republicans and an attorney for the D.C. Republican State Committee:

"The common man was a hell of a failure. He didn't cure the world's ills, he made things worse than they were. All this erasing of class and social differences, things like the FEPC—they just didn't work. . . . The laxity and tolerance of the era of the common man is in for a reversal. It's happening now. I see that swords are coming back in the Navy for instance. All these things are signs of class and social and political distinction. There's going to be a premium on ability and leadership.

". . . The bulk of people who object to guilt by association are way, way out of step with what is happening." . . . Shipley is sure that most people are being misled [about the virtues of guilt by association] by a propaganda technique started by Communists and fellow travelers. . . . In his article Shipley defends guilt by association by quoting from Euripides, Shakespeare and various laws.

". . . I've had a number of people who've been fired from the government come in to me and ask me to take their cases. They always say the accusations are lies. I had one woman come in and cry: 'I can't get a lawyer.' I told her: 'It's pretty late now, madam. . . . You should have thought of that when you were associating with these people.' I didn't take her case. . . . These people I turn down ask me to recommend other lawyers, but I wouldn't be caught dead sending them on to another lawyer—for fear he would think I think he's a Communist, or something."

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NEW YORK EDITION

Vol. 6, No. 15 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 1, 1954

N. Y.'S DISPLACED PERSONS

Tenants balk plan to leave them homeless while new housing goes up

WHEN old houses go, what happens to the people who lived in them? Where they go is such an acute problem that last week demonstrators cheered when the announcement came that the much-needed Mary K. Simkhovitch housing projects east of Washington Sq. would be shelved.

More than 1,000 people came by bus and on foot to last week's Board of Estimate hearing on four proposed housing projects. Councilman Stanley Isaacs (R-Lib-Manhattan) told the Board: "Plans for these housing projects call for the displacement of 56,000 families. Only 16,000 families are provided for in the plans for the new houses. The rest will be thrown from their homes, with no place to go. . . . Because of the present system many families are being displaced to make way for projects and they are forced to occupy illegal cellars. Many lives are being ruined."

HEARINGS FIRST: Speaking for the Committee on Discrimination in Housing and the United Neighborhood Houses, Councilman Isaacs asked that all new housing be held up pending public hearings on the City Planning Commission's report on tenant relocation plans.

City Planner Robert Moses, City Housing Authority chairman Philip J. Cruise and a majority of the Planning Commission had pooh-poohed the relocation problem, saw no reason for delay, insisted that apartment hunting prospects looked "brighter than in the past."

"SQUARE" DEAL OK'D: In a letter to Mayor Wagner and the Board of Estimate, the Citizens' Housing & Planning Council of N.Y. said the city planners were "whistling in the dark."

ALP's new N.Y. County exec. vice-chairman Henry H. Abrams urged the Board to offer the city's displaced persons new housing at the rents they had been paying, uniform standards of relocation under a city agency's auspices (it is now up to private contractors, in many cases), punitive measures for contractors who discriminate.

At the end of the hearing last Tuesday the Board shelved the big low- and middle-income projects but approved a $29,000,000 deal for Washington Sq. under which N.Y. University and private builders would pick up land from the city at bargain prices with the taxpayer taking a loss. (Tenant demonstrators last week called it a "land grab.") In addition to the university building on the Square, nine 14-story apartment buildings will be built by private interests, renting apartments at $48 per room. (GUARDIAN, 12/21/53.)

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

THE CANDIDATE: GREGORIO DOMENECH—THE ELECTION: FEB. 16

Unity Party formed to elect Puerto Rican to Assembly from Manhattan's 14th A.D.

By Elmer Bendiner

BABBY QUINTERO, columnist for the very conservative Spanish-language daily **La Prensa**, last week summed up Harlem's mood: "They're not waiting and they don't want to beg for their rights. They know that success can come only by fighting for them."

The front line of that battle at the moment is in the 14th Assembly District which covers lower Harlem from the east side, center of Puerto Rican life in Manhattan, to the Negro west side. It is election time there now and a new coalition of Puerto Rican and Negro voters, spanning all party lines from ALP to GOP, is testing its strength. At issue is the Assembly seat vacated by Hulan Jack, now Manhattan Borough President. Gov. Dewey has ordered a special election Feb. 16.

DEM. PROMISES: Last July a small group of ministers and community leaders joined together in the Committee for Spanish Unity, pressed their program on all parties: political representation for Spanish-speaking New Yorkers, literacy tests in Spanish, measures against police brutality and discrimination.

On Aug. 20 the committee sent a delegation to Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio and Mayoralty candidate Robert Wagner. DeSapio told the delegates: "It is time that the Spanish-speaking people, particularly the Puerto Ricans, have adequate representation in our government, and I want to prove it with deeds. I invite

you to present . . . the person you back as leader in the 14th AD and I will guarantee you he will go on the ticket substituting for Mr. Hulan Jack as assemblyman." Wagner, eagerly campaigning, echoed that guarantee.

Immediately after election day the committee conferred with Puerto Rican community leaders, offered three choices to the Democrats, got no answer. With election over, the line went dead.

SPLITTING MOVE: The Democrats early last month named a Puerto Rican as a temporary "co-ordinator" for the district, failing to give him either the status or the power of a district leader; then they nominated Kenneth Phipps, a Negro and secy. of Hulan Jack's own Democratic Club, for the assembly post. The maneuver was considered by Harlemites as a plain double-cross of the Puerto Ricans and a move to split the 14th AD by setting Negro against Puerto Rican.

Last week the move seemed to boomerang. The Republicans nominated Gregorio Domenech, a Puerto Rican with an anti-machine slant. The ALP had already nominated Francisco Archilla.

COMMON PROGRAM: On Sunday, in a barely furnished store that had once been an ALP headquarters at 29 E. 114th St., the city's Puerto Rican leaders met and launched a movement that could shape future city politics. Present

(Continued on Page N. Y. 2)

BEHIND THE CLOTHES-LINE CURTAIN

Tenants resist moves to make them displaced persons. Present plans call for new projects, but while they're going up where will the people live?

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Tuesday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified, National Guardian, 17 Murray St., N. Y. 7.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

CONTEMPORARY FORUM
ANNOUNCES TWO NEW COURSES
Poetry And The Voice of Mankind
Lecturer: **DR. FREDERIC EWEN**
Readers: **OSSIE DAVIS, RUBY DEE** (from cast of "Sholom Aleichem")
Monday, Feb. 8—8 to 9:30 p.m.
"Heine—Poet Between Two Worlds"

★

Philosophy: Yesterday and Today
Lecturer: **DR. BARROWS DUNHAM** author of "Giant in Chains"

★

Thurs., Feb. 11—8 to 9:30 p.m.
"The Strife of Opposites—Process or Idea? Hegel and Marx"
Tuition: $1 per session. 206 W. 15th St., New York City WA 4-5524

GALA DANCE FESTIVAL featuring **EDITH SEGAL & 100 DANCERS.** With Al Moss and Bill Robinson. Madeline Simon, pianist. Sun., Feb. 14, The Pythian, 135 W. 70th St. Tickets $1.80 & $1.20 on sale at Kinderland office, 1 Union Sq., Rm. 401. AL 5-6283. Benefit **CAMP FRESH AIR FUND.** Ausp: Parents Assoc. of Camp Kinderland.

EUROPE TODAY: EYEWITNESS REPORT. Two lectures by George Clarke, American Socialist editor. A first hand report on the failure of American policy in Europe; and the present political development in Britain, France and Italy. Fri., Feb. 5 and Feb. 19, 8:15 p.m. 863 Broadway (17 St.). Questions, discussion, refreshments. Auspices: American Socialist. Cont. 25c.

It's coming. The type of affair you will want to attend. That's the 3rd annual **FREEDOM FROLIC** in celebration of Negro History Week with Hope Foye, Beulah Richardson, Ralph Hayes & Orch., and many surprise packages. Sat., Feb. 13, Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 Av. of the Americas, cor. 16th St. Contribution: $1.25.

ELIZABETH KNIGHT, new songs and grand entertainment at Film Division's Weekly Surprise Party. Social, refreshments and a surprise package at ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Sat., Jan. 30, 9 p.m. Contribution: $1.

IMPORTANT PEACE MEETING commemorating birthday of FDR and launching New Negotiations Campaign. Speakers: distinguished att'y, Royal W. France; A.P.C. Dir. Thomas Richardson and prominent trade unionist. Cornish Arms Hotel, 23d St. & 8th Av., 8:30 p.m. Auspices: N. Y. Peace Council. Contribution: 50c.

DEBATE: "The Road for American Socialism." Youth Section of Socialist Workers Party vs. Young Peoples Socialist League. Speakers: Bogdan Denitch, YPSL; Janice Martin, SWP. Fri., Feb. 5, 8 p.m. Adelphi Hall, 74 5th Av. (nr. 14th St.) Contribution: 35c.

FORUM: "FIRST HAND REPORT ON WORLD PEACE MOVEMENTS."
Louis Wheaton—Asia
Reverend John Darr—Europe
Sun., Feb. 7, 8 p.m., at 77 5th Av. (15th & 16th Sts.) Refreshments. Contribution: 50c. Auspices: N. Y. Veterans for Peace

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14th A. D.

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

were Puerto Rican leaders from the Republican, Democratic, Liberal and American Labor parties, including Archilla and Domenech. The meeting was called by Gil Gerena Valentin, chairman of the Spanish Unity Committee.

All agreed that Tammany had double-crossed some of the people who had worked hardest for Wagner; all agreed that Puerto Rican representation from East Harlem was the prime objective, that they could join in a common program, and that this was no time for Puerto Rican candidates to be running against each other. ALP's Archilla withdrew and the group rallied behind the GOP's Domenech. Later Archilla said in a formal statement for the ALP:

"We have made a significant contribution in getting Negro representation in the State Senate and Assembly and most recently in the Board of Estimate. It is now necessary to elect a Puerto Rican to the Assembly so that the Negro and Puerto Rican people who form the Harlem community shall be represented."

SIGN OF THE BELLS: The coalition was more than a handshake: it had form and substance. Domenech would run not only on the GOP ticket but on that of the new Unity Party with its symbol of two bells joined like a Christmas symbol. The party and the symbol were hastily drawn up, but spokesmen said it would be in business long after February. It has a program to which all parties agree:

Legislative and administrative representation for Puerto Ricans in city and state; low-rent housing; an end to rent gouging, extension of rent control to rooming houses; end segregation of Puerto Rican children in schools, employ Puerto Rican and Negro teachers; more child care centers, recreation centers for youth, nurseries for working mothers; literacy tests in Spanish, an enforced FEPC on city contracts, an end to police brutality, a fight on the fare boost.

NEGRO SUPPORT: Domenech quickly agreed to run on both the GOP and Unity tickets, and the group organized a committee to run the Unity Party's campaign: two Republicans, a Democrat, an ALPer and Unity Committee chairman Gerena Valentin. When the program was drafted the final point was Negro-Puerto Rican unity.

Acting on it, Domenech hurried from the meeting to a forum of the Harlem Affairs Committee, which had done much to spark the fight for a Negro borough president and has as its cardinal program point: Negro representation. The committee saw the danger in the Tammany move to split Harlem, the opportunity in Negro-Puerto Rican unity, threw all support to Domenech. An early sign of Negro support came also from the Negro Republicans in the Crispus Attucks GOP Club on the west side.

GREGORIO DOMENECH
DeSapio reckoned wrong

The Unity Party had two days to file petitions. Canvassers were rallied from the neighborhood and by the deadline, midnight Tuesday, filed more than the required 1,300 signatures (7% of the AD's last vote for governor). The two main Spanish-language dailies, **La Prensa** and **El Diario de Nueva York,** backed Domenech and the Unity Party's campaign, reported the ALP's participation. At the Harlem grass roots red-baiting was unprofitable.

"GOP LIBERAL": In his little store-front travel-agency-accountant's-notary public office at 29 E. 104th St., Domenech told the GUARDIAN: "I am a Republican. I have always been a Republican. I always will be a Republican, but if the Democratic candidate had been a Puerto Rican I would be working for him."

A handsome, grey-haired, nattily-dressed man of 52, Domenech came up from Puerto Rico in 1922, was a Republican from the start, but now he stressed that he is a "liberal Republican." He said: "There are certain things in the Republican Party I do not agree with."

WORKING TOGETHER: The GOP nomination came as a "surprise," he said, because he was "not on good terms with the leaders." The Unity Party with its promise of Harlem unity seemed to him a cause worth fighting for. He welcomed the chance to run on the two-bell ticket. The ALP had asked him to run on its ticket as well. He commented: "I will not be in a position to accept. To run on the ALP ticket is contrary to the policy of the party [Republican]. It is not permitted by the leaders. That is, officially. But unofficially we are all working together here."

A picture of Thomas Dewey looked down from a wall cluttered with travel posters. On the floor propped against a wall was a musty picture of President Eisenhower.

RESORT

EAST HOOK for a happy week or week-end. Skating, tobogganing, informal, continental cuisine, 60 miles from N. Y. C. Children welcome. Lerman, R.D. No. 2, Hopewell Junction, N. Y. Tel: BEacon 9-4156.

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Housing

(Continued from Page N. Y. 1)

MAKE A NOISE: Throughout the city tenants were angry and audible. A municipal judge told Brooklyn tenants last month: "There are more tenants than landlords. If you make your voices heard in a united front, you will get what you want."

Judge Lewis S. Flagg, whose election last fall was a triumph for Negro representation and anti-machine politics, talked the strong language other officials use only when campaigning. He spoke to 200 persons, mainly Negro and Puerto Rican, who attended a rally at Paragon Hall, 8 Brooklyn Av., called by the Brooklyn Tenants Welfare and Consumer Council. He told them the city had not "awakened to its responsibility to tenants" and would do so only if tenants put up a fight.

FIRE MOSES, CRUISE: The meeting, held only a few blocks from the scene of the Bedford Av. tenement fire which took seven lives in June, 1952, was called to ask—and answer—the question: "Can Brooklyn horror housing be ended?" Mrs. Laura Hall, Council exec. secy., outlined a program for low-cost public housing to be lobbied for at City Hall, Albany and Washington.

To City Hall the Council sent by telegram an urgent recommendation: fire Moses and Cruise. Both officials were charged with following discriminatory policies toward Negro and Puerto Rican families living on sites needed for new construction. In addition Cruise was criticized for pressing a plan to turn public middle-income housing over to private operation.

JIMCROW WINS

Wilson sells L. I. house

AFTER two mysterious fires last November (GUARDIAN, 1/11, 12/7) and a series of threatening letters signed "Ku Klux Klan," Negro cosmetic manufacturer Clarence Wilson has sold the $16,000 ranch-style house he was building at Copiague, L. I. He feared "some harm might befall" his wife and three small sons.

Wilson said a detective he hired to investigate the fire reported that 75% of the community's white people didn't want him to move in. "They said they had spent a lot of money to keep Jews out, and they weren't going to let a Negro move in," Wilson told the press. "They said they didn't want any dope addicts or any muggings . . . above all they didn't want any intermarriage."

Wilson didn't know how they got them, but there were several keys to his house in the hands of people in the community. His chief reason for selling was his fear that his house might be entered while he was at work and his family home alone. The Wilsons will remain in the four-room Brooklyn apartment they had decided was too small.

DEWEY ASKED TO CALL PARLEY

Hat workers urge consumers to join fight on runaways

IN labor's war against runaway plants some fought on picket lines, others in high-powered press conferences.

William J. Belanger, New England director of the CIO Textile Workers—flanked by Sens. Pastore (D-R.I.) and Saltonstall (R-Mass.); Reps. Rogers (R-Mass.) and McCormack (D-Mass.)—called New England the "nation's economic problem no. 1." He gave reporters these figures: in Lawrence, Mass., 10,800 out of 52,490 woolen and worsted mill workers idle; in Lowell, Mass., 4,400 out of 51,460.

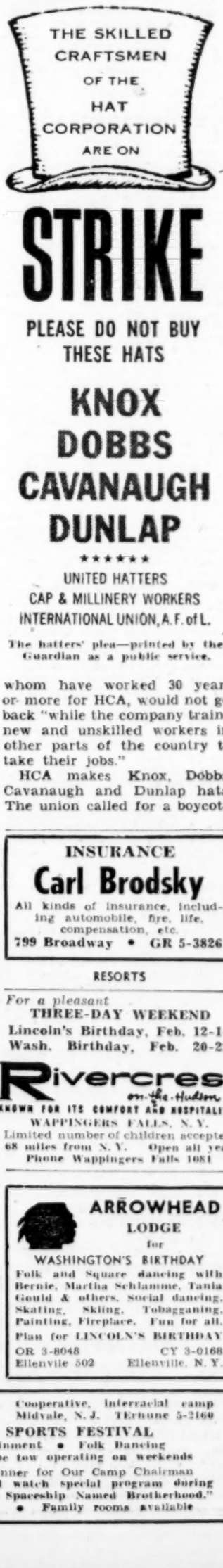
His program: rush government contracts to New England mills; stop the runaways by setting standard minimum wages nationwide for government work.

Voicing CIO concern as well, Louis Hollander, president of the N.Y. CIO Council, asked Gov. Dewey to call a conference of governors of New England and middle Atlantic states to consider the runaway problem.

HOT HATS: The AFL United Hatters, Cap & Millinery Workers, on strike against the Hat Corp. of America's Norwalk, Conn., plant since July 9 (GUARDIAN, 1/18), called on consumers to join the fight. Prime issue is to halt the company's plans to move to the south and west in a flight to low wages and long hours.

The company's plant has been shut down, and a back-to-work movement has failed, but the company is trying to produce straw hats in a Winchester, Tenn., plant and is preparing a factory in Missouri to finish fur felt hats with production expected in six months. Last week the union said its 1,400 strikers, many of whom have worked 30 years or more for HCA, would not go back "while the company trains new and unskilled workers in other parts of the country to take their jobs."

HCA makes Knox, Dobbs, Cavanaugh and Dunlap hats. The union called for a boycott.



The hatters' plea—printed by the Guardian as a public service.

King Cadillac

The Waldorf - Astoria, whenever it houses a visiting potentate, hangs out the celebrity's official flag along with the Stars and Stripes.

Last week General Motors' Motorama was the Waldorf's star boarder; and in the place of honor with the Stars and Stripes hung the House Flag of Genl. Motors.

THE THEATER

Fine production of 'Coriolanus' at the Phoenix

By Ione Kramer

IT was the peasants of England, rebelling at the time against starvation as the rich "enclosed" their lands, that Shakespeare probably had in mind when he wrote his little-known but politically powerful **Coriolanus.** He depicts the peasants of ancient Rome as hearing from the senators' spokesman, Menenius Agrippa, that their troubles come not from the patricians but from God: they should kneel to Him rather than bear arms against the state which treats them "like a father." When military hero Coriolanus, with patrician senators and generals as his press agents, is chosen as consul the peasants for a time suspend their misgivings about his hatred of the people. When he exposes his true undemocratic self they kick him out. The "hero" consorts with Rome's greatest enemy and leads an army against the city.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT: Directed in the American rather than the Elizabethan idiom by John Houseman, with Robert Ryan as a western-accented Coriolanus, the new Phoenix production points up the contemporary implications of the play. This is top-level theater, richly costumed in Etruscan style by Alvin Colt, simply but effectively stage-designed by Donald Oenslager, finely acted by Will Geer, John Randolph, John Emery and Mildred Natwick. In his humanization of the unstable, egotistical Coriolanus—a military square peg in a political round hole, a little boy at heart with a mother complex to boot—Ryan has made him understandable if almost too likeable to be the autocrat the people hated.

A beautiful and gripping evening, provoking constructive thought on heroes, turncoats and politics. Such a once-in-a-generation production deserves a longer run than the six weeks scheduled for it.

CORIOLANUS, by Wm. Shakespeare. Phoenix Theater, 2d Av. & 12th St.

MAYOR YIELDS TO PRESSURE

Wagner names Negro to a top city job

NEGRO groups throughout the city had put the heat on Robert F. Wagner, when he was a freely-promising candidate, and won the promise to appoint at least one Negro commissioner. After election they kept the heat going by letter, delegation, private calls.

It paid off last week with the appointment of Arthur C. Ford, first Negro to serve in the $15,000-a-year post as Commissioner of Water Supply, Gas & Electricity. (He was a consulting engineer in the Manhattan Borough President's office.) Earlier the Mayor appointed two other Negroes: Mrs. Ann Arnold Hedgeman, asst. to the Mayor, and Mrs. Thelma B. Boozer, civil defense asst. All had previously held city jobs. The appointments, clearly a tribute to growing Negro voting power, stood out in a list of machine hacks, Impellitteri holdovers and dangerous witch-hunters.

THE PAYOFF: Last week the Mayor indicated he might seek to elevate Tammany Hall to national influence by backing Carmine DeSapio for a seat on the Democratic Natl. Committee. Sources close to the Mayor also reported he was likely to reappoint Philip J. Cruise, chairman of the N.Y. Housing Authority—an Impellitteri appointee who has been under stormy attack by tenants' groups for his relocation policies and plans favoring the turning over of middle-income housing to private administration.

Other recent appointments served largely to pay off Wagner's supporters, punish his opponents. Ford replaced Dominick Paduano of the Queens machine bossed by William A. Roe, who had backed Impellitteri. Another Roe man, John Splain, was ditched from the water commissioner's job, which went to loyal Wagnerite Joseph Spagna.

THE MILD AXE: The Sutherland machine in Brooklyn, which also supported Impellitteri, was punished by the removal of District Capt. Salvatore Grieco from the job of First Deputy Sanitation Commissioner. The Mayor, in a Tammany-like reform mood, has said he would name no district leaders as commissioners—only deputy commissioners.

Despite mild disapproval expressed in such shifts and some choking off of patronage, Wagner has to date left bosses Roe and Sutherland in full command of their boroughs and denied any move to shake them.

IVES BALLOON: In Albany politics went on as usual, with one session cut down to ten minutes to allow for strenuous campaigning. The Governor launched a cautious trial balloon for Sen. Ives for the governorship. The Senator replied politely that he favored Dewey.

In the Assembly, Leo P. Noonan (R-Cattaragus) filed a bill that would cancel all tax exemptions from any educational institution retaining on its payroll a faculty member who invoked the Fifth Amendment before a government committee.

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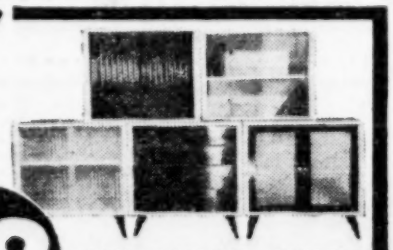

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AUSTRALIA: Wherever She Goes, biog. of great contemporary pianist. Jan. 29-31.

ITALY & ISRAEL: The Earth Cries Out (1950). Made in Italy on the birth pangs of the new nation Israel. Feb. 5-7.

MUSEUM OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. 3 & 5:30 p.m. daily.

Series: 1-day showings, works of Jean Renoir.

Feb. 1: **La Petite Marchand d'Allumette** (1927) & **Un Parie d'Compagne** (1938).

Feb. 2: **La Chienne** (1931).

Feb. 3: **The Grand Illusion** (1937, one of the greatest anti-war films —with Gabin, Fresnay).

Feb. 4: **The Lower Depths** (1936, Gabin, Jouvet).

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3d St. **Concert of Stars** (Russ.) & **Shoot First**, Feb. 4-5.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. **Rules of the Game** (Fr., Renoir, dir.) & **Charlie Chaplin Jamboree** (selected shorts), thru Jan. 2; **Annapurna** (docum.) from Feb. 2.

BARONET, 3d Av. & 59th St. **The Final Test** (Br., R. Morley), from Jan. 25.

BEEKMAN, 2d Av. bet. 65-66 Sts. **Little World of Don Camillo** (It.), Jan. 30-Feb. 2; **Turn the Key Softly** (Br.), from Feb. 3.

BIJOU, 45th St. W. of B'way. **Gilbert and Sullivan** (Br.), cont., reserved seats.

COLONY, 1519 3d Av. **The Robe**, thru Feb. 2.

85TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 85th. **The Greatest Love** (Bergman), Jan. 31-Feb. 2.

8TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 52 W. 8th. **The Wild One** (Brando), thru Feb. 2; **Turn the Key Softly** (Br.), Feb. 3-9.

EMBASSY, B'way & 72d St. **The Actress** (S. Tracy), thru Feb. 4; **Folly To Be Wise** (Alistair Sim) & **Passionate Sentry**, from Feb. 5.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Spice of Life** (Fr., Noel Noel) & **Pleasure Garden** (Br.), cont.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, Lexington & 52d. Lib. cont.

FINE ARTS, 58th bet. Park-Lexington. **Conquest of Everest** (Br. docum.), cont.

GRAMERCY, 23d & Lexington. **Folly To Be Wise** & **Passionate Sentry** (both Br.), thru Feb. 2; **Turn the Key Softly** (Br.), Feb. 3-9.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. & 12th St. **Folly To Be Wise** & **Passionate Sentry** (both Br.), Jan. 30-Feb. 2; **Little World of Don Camillo** & **Young Caruso** (both It.), Feb. 3-6.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th St. **Times Gone By** (It.), cont.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th St. **Heidi** (Swiss, Eng. dubbed) & **White Mane**, cont.

NORMANDIE, 110 W. 57th St. **The Golden Coach** (Italian-made in English, with Magnani in the Commedia dell'Arte), cont., reserved seats.

PARIS, 4 W. 58th St. **Captain's Paradise** (Br., Guinness), cont.

PLAZA, 58th & Madison. **Julius Caesar**, cont.

60TH ST. TRANSLUX, Madison & 60th. **The Horse's Mouth** (Br. comedy), cont.

72D ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d St. **Follow the Fleet** (Astaire-Rogers, 1936), cont.

STANLEY, 7th Av. at 42d St. **Admiral Ushakov**, biog. of 18th century Soviet Naval hero. Cont.

SUTTON, 3d Av. & 57th St. **Disney's Living Desert** (full-length docum.), cont.

THALIA, 95th & B'way. **Two Cents Worth of Hope** (It.) & **Justice Is Done** (Fr.), Jan. 29-Feb. 4.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3d St. **Murder on Monday** (Br.) & **War of the World** (H. G. Wells, Hollywood version), thru Jan. 30.

YORKTOWN B'way & 89th. **Greatest Love** (Bergman) & **The Fake**, thru Jan. 30; **Little World of Don Camillo**, Jan. 31-Feb. 2; **The Wild One** & **Bad for Each Other**, Feb. 3-6.

Bronx

ASCOT, 2313 Gr. Concourse. **Passion for Life** (story of a French teacher, based on real life) & **Julius Caesar** (Charlton Heston, Northwestern U. experimental), from Feb. 2.

NADYNE BREWER

Soprano Nadyne Brewer will give a concert at Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St., at 8:30 p.m. Sat. Jan. 30. Her program will include selections from "Songs of the Auvergne" arranged by Canteloube, along with classical selections from Bach and Brahms, and Yiddish folk music. Tickets: $1.20, $1.80, $2.40 from Intl. Folkways, 113 W. 42d St.

Events for Children

Films

CHILDREN'S EVENNTS .. ..

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. 11 a.m., Sat., Jan. 30: **Care of Pets & Farm Animals**; 2 p.m., **Railroadin'**; 4 p.m., **Underwater Adventure & Tommy the Lion.** Sat., Feb. 6, 11 a.m: **Deer and His Relatives** & **Spring on the Farm; Pigs and Elephants**; 4 p.m., **Mexican Children & Colonial Children.**

N. Y. BOTANICAL GARDENS, Bronx Park. **Fascinating Facets of Nature Study** (illust. talk, kodachromes, show plants and animals from all parts of the world), Jan. 30 at 3:30 p.m. Free.

B'KLYN MUSEUM, Eastern Parkway & Wash. Av. **Comedies & Travel Films**, Sat. at 2 p.m. Free.

Dance & Music

ORCHESTRA CONCERT: Little Orchestra Society presents its fifth concert of the season. Program includes: **Just Listening** (Dvorak's New World Symphony); **Musical Quiz** (prizes will be given); **The Red Pony** (story in music) with narrator, Hunter College Assembly Hall, Park Av. at 69th St. Sat., Feb. 6 at 11 a.m. $1.50-$1.80.

BALLET CARNIVAL, five ballets for children by John Beggs. Central High School of Needle Trades, 225 W. 24th St. Sun., Jan. 31 at 2 p.m.

Plays

THE MERRY-GO-ROUNDERS, three story ballets by adult dancers. YM-YWHA, Children's Center, 92d St. & Lex. Av. Sun., Feb. 7 at 1:30 p.m. & 3:30 p.m. $1-$2.

THE MERRY-GO-ROUNDERS, three story ballets by adult dancers. McMillin Theater, B'way at 116th St. Sat., Feb. 13 at 3 p.m. Reserv. and information call MO 3-5709 or MO 3-5212. Tickets may be purchased at McMillin Theater box office on day of performance after 2 p.m. 50c.

Plays

ADVENTURES OF TOM SAWYER, by Junior Theater. Carnegie Recital Hall, 154 W. 57th St. Sat., Feb. 6, Feb. 12 (Lincoln's Birthday) & Sat., Feb. 13 at 2:15 p.m. $1.20-$1.80. 20% less for groups of 10 or more. CI 6-0224.

PUSS IN BOOTS, by Clare Tree Major Children's Theater. Full length stage play. Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Av., B'klyn. Sat., Feb. 6 at 3 p.m. 60c-$1.50. ST 3-6700.

RIP VAN WINKLE, by Playmart Children's Theater. Carl Fischer Concert Hall, 165 W. 57th St. Performances every Sat. & Sun. thru Feb. Sats. at 1 & 2:40 p.m., Suns. at 2:45 p.m. only. 75c-$1.20.

MR. POPPER'S PENGUINS, by the Y Playhouse. Dramatized for the first time. Children's Center, YM-YWHA, 92d St. & Lex. Av. Fri., Feb. 12 (Lincoln's Birthday) at 11 a.m. & 2:40 p.m. Half-price rates for groups of 20 or more. $1-$2. TR 612336.

Where to Go

Drama

TWO NEW ONE-ACTERS. Dramatic reading of **The People's Champ**, story of a Negro heavyweight champ, and **Brother Cheap Mugg**, about a small town strike, by Topical Theater, 8:30 p.m., Sat., Jan. 30, 77 5th Av., cont. 75c.

SHADOW OF A GUNMAN, Sean O'Casey play on the Irish revolution. "Studio 8:40." Fri.-Sun., 8:40 p.m., 115 W. 52d St. $1.50. PL 7-6300.

ARISTOPHANES' social comedy **Ecclesiazusae**, subtitled **Time for a Change**, dir. Robert Klein. 8:30 p.m. Sun., Jan. 31, Cooper Union, 4th Av. & Astor Pl. Free.

CORIOLANUS, by Shakespeare, with Robert Ryan, directed by John Houseman. Phoenix Theater, 2d Av. & 12th St. Eves. Tues.-Sun. $1.20-$3. Sat.-Sun. mats. $1.20-$2.70. AL 4-0525.

MADWOMAN OF CHAILLOT, with Karen Morley & Tony Kraber, Brett Warren, dir. 8:30 p.m. Mon.-Thurs., Sun mat., 2:40. Actor's Mobile Theatre, 430 6th Av. Reserv: GR 7-2430.

THE EMPEROR'S CLOTHES, by George Tabori, directed by David Pressman. Greenwich Mews Interracial theater. 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. & Fri., 8:40. Reserv: TR 3-4810 thru Feb. 7.

THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, 19th century Jewish humor dramatized by Arnold Perl. Barbizon-Plaza Theater, 58th & 6th Av. Tues.-Sun. eves., mats. Sat. & Sun. CO 5-7845.

LILIOM, Ferenc Molnar fantasy. Institute Players, 8:30 p.m. Tues., Feb. 2, B'klyn Acad. of Music, Lafayette Av. & Ashland Pl. $1.50.

NO EXIT, Jean-Paul Sartre's existentialist play, and **The Haitian Dancers.** Cabaret Theatere, The Open Door, 3d St. & W. B'way. 8:40 p.m. Mon.-Thurs.; Sat. mat. 2:40 p.m. $1.20, $1.80, $2.40. GR 3-9788. Dancing afterward.

RUMPELSTILSKIN, plus a variety show and **Mike the Magician.** Children's Own Theater, Metropolitan-Duane, 291 W. 13th St. at 7th Av. Performances every Sat. thru Feb. Also Feb. 12 (Lincoln's Birthday). All performances at 3 p.m. 76c-$1.90. PL 7-6300 or CH 2-9693 on day of performance.

Miscellaneous

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat., Jan. 30, 11:30 a.m.: **Story Hour**; 1:15 p.m., **Live Animal Program**; 2:30 p.m., **Science Demonst.—Metals & Their Ores**; 3 p.m., **Planetarium Demonst.**; 3:30 p.m., **Cultural History — Life in the South Seas.** Sat., Feb. 6, 11 a.m.: **Story Hour**; 1:15 p.m., **Live Animal Program**; 2:30 p.m., **Science Demonst.—Heat & Fire**; 3 p.m., **Planetarium**; 3:30, **Cultural History—Life in France.** Free.

New movies

ADMIRAL USHAKOV (Russian), Stanley Theater, 6th Av. & 42d St.

COLORFUL, straightforward, almost documentary biography of Russian naval hero of the 1700's who overcame the princeling's contempt for his un-noble birth, set them on their ears with unorthodox methods of naval training and fighting to defeat the Turkish fleet. Full of action, but avoids Hollywood-type swashbuckle, manages to make Ushakov (I. Pervezev) more than a cardboard hero. Good photography, interesting glimpse of history with Britain's Pitt and the Turks trying to gang up on the Russians; no brutality, no love story. Directed by Michael Romm, music by Katchaturian.

N. R.

Music & Dance

HOWARD UNIV. CHOIR, concert. 8:30 p.m. Sun., Jan. 31 .Hunter College Auditorium, Park Av. & 69th St. $1.20-$2.40. AU 3-7374.

CONCERT: "I Call to You Across the Continent" for Morton Sobell. People's Artists entertainers and poetess Beulah Richardson, with new "Ballad of Morton Sobell" by Irwin Silber, based on Edith Segal's poem. 8:30 p.m. Sat., Feb. 6. Hunts Point Palace, 953 Southern Blvd., Bronx. $1.20, $1.80, $2.40. TR 8-6471, KI 7-0699.

ELIZABETH KNIGHT sings at ASP Film Div. Party, 9 p.m., Sat., Jan. 30. 37 W. 64th St. Cont. $1.

JEWISH YOUNG SINGERS, 3d anniversary concert. Louise & Bob De Cormier, Guy Carawan, Ethel Goldstein, soloists. Fri. eve., Feb. 5, Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41st St. Contribution: 75c.

INDIAN Jagoi & Kathakali Dances with Priya Gopal & Shivaram, spons. India Consulate, 8:15 p.m. Sun., Jan. 31, New School, 66 W. 12th St. $1.50-$2.

Miscellaneous

F. D. R., The Man, The Legend, The McCarthyites' Bogey. Forum with Simon W. Gerson, David Goldway, chairman. 8:30 p.m., Sun., Jan 31. Jefferson School, 575 Av. of Americas. $1.

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE says of the "Madwoman of Chaillot: "Little theatre at its positive best . . . bouquets for director Brett Warren and choreographer Valentina Litvinov . . . played with skill and sensitivity by those excellent performers Karen Morley and Tony Kraber. The ragpicker is given more warmth and depth by a young Negro professional, Clark Morgan, than it got . . . in the Broadway production."—GUARDIAN, 1/25.
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Ike's housing program boon to bankers; shift is from public to private building

By Lawrence Emery

FOR his Federal Housing Administrator President Eisenhower picked Albert M. Cole who, as a Congressman, earned a reputation as a bitter foe of public housing. For the dominant member of his Advisory Committee on Government Housing Policies & Programs he picked Aksel Nielsen, a close friend and personal adviser and former president of the Mortgage Bankers Assn. The President's housing program, presented to Congress last week, bears the heavy imprint of both men. Under it housing would be eventually abandoned to private builders and lenders.

As the N.Y. **Times** reported, the Eisenhower program has "the ultimate objective of reducing government housing activities to a minimum and yielding the field to private enterprise," while government mortgage activities will be reorganized "to enable banks and mortgage companies . . . to gain gradual control." Eisenhower explained:

> "Actions and programs must be avoided that would make our citizens increasingly dependent upon the federal government to supply their housing needs. We believe that needed progress can best be made by full and effective utilization of our competitive economy. . . ."

DROP IN THE OCEAN: Free enterprise has always been free to build homes, with the result that at least one-third of the nation has always been ill-housed, with large parts of it from time to time totally un-housed.

For public housing as such, the President asked for 35,000 new units a year for the next four years. The present Congress last year authorized only 20,000 new units for the year. The CIO called the 35,000 figure "tantamount to no public housing program at all." The AFL described it as filling "only a small fraction of the need." President Ira S. Robbins of the Natl. Housing Conference insisted that at least 200,000 units a year are needed.

"WE SHALL TAKE STEPS": Backers of the President's program hope that free enterprise, with full government insurance of mortgage loans by private bankers, will be "encouraged" to build 1,000,000 homes a year; but Sen. Thomas Hennings (D-Mo.) pointed out that even the Republican 80th Congress recognized a need for at least 1,500,000 new homes a year between 1947 and 1960. He cited other estimates that, under the Eisenhower program, only 900,000 units will be built and warned that "even this inadequate figure may well become wishful thinking." For the last ten years the labor movement has insisted that a minimum of 2,000,000 new dwellings a year is required to keep pace with population increase and slum clearance. The Progressive Party, in its 1954 legislative program, calls for "a national housing program to provide 2,500,000 low-rent homes a year without discrimination or segregation."

On housing for minorities, the President offered these phrases instead of proposals: "We shall take steps," "we shall prevent," "we shall encourage." Instead of public housing, the President put main emphasis on "conservation and improvement" of the nation's existing 37,000,000 non-farm homes, although he conceded that more than half of these are over 30 years old.

"NEW APPROACH": A key recommendation, which he described as a "new approach," calls for an

> ". . . experimental program under which the Federal Housing Administration would be authorized to insure long-term loans of modest amounts, with low initial payment, on both new and existing dwellings, for low-income families."

According to his committee's report on which he based his message, this would provide 40-year loans (100% insured by the government), with little or no down payment, on homes priced from $7,600 to $8,600. Even this would be limited to families evicted in slum-clearance programs or other removal proceedings. Rep. Barratt O'Hara (D-Ill.) has asked where homes in such a price-range will be found, since neither the committee report nor the President's message contains any guarantee they will be built; he further cited expert testimony that homes privately built at such prices themselves quickly become slums. The St. Louis **Post-Dispatch** had another objection:

> "A 40-year mortgage with no down payment can be called home ownership, but in practical effect it might be just tenancy coupled with perpetual debt, the debt outlasting both the house and the tenant."

NO SOLUTION: But to the President, this proposal constituted "a challenge to private builders and lenders. In order to assist them in meeting this challenge, a greater proportion of the risk should be underwritten by the Federal Housing Administration than it regularly insures."

The Eisenhower housing program might be a mortgage-banker's delight, but it offered no solution to the shortage of decent dwellings. At worst it will add new slums to old.

FREEDOMS

UE asks public to help it stop 'private repeal' of 5th Amendment

FOUR YEARS AGO the United Electrical Workers (UERMWA) broke with the CIO, which promptly chartered a new Intl. Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) to raid UE's jurisdiction. With the aid of witch-hunting Congressional committees and the blessing of General Electric, IUE muscled UE out of the big Lynn, Mass., GE plant.

By last year, however, GE workers at Lynn were getting fed up with IUE and a clear majority wanted their old union back. UE moved for an NLRB election. On Nov. 16 NLRB announced an election within 30 days.

The same day, Sen. McCarthy announced he would conduct immediate hearings in Boston on alleged Communist infiltration at GE's Lynn plant.

"A DIRTY THING": Chief product of the hearings was a new stoolpigeon who was identified by his home-town Fitchburg newspapers as a man with a police record dating back 34 years. Furthermore, McCarthy backed into a buzzsaw when he tackled James J. Matles, UE director of organization. Matles called McCarthy a liar, charged him with doing "a dirty thing for GE in Lynn" and demanded that he cease.

McCarthy's move at Lynn followed a conference with Army Secy. Stevens, an Eisenhower appointee from the GE board of directors. But it failed to make a real dent in UE's majority at Lynn.

On Dec. 9, day before the scheduled election, GE played its trump. It announced that any GE worker who invoked the Fifth Amendment before a Congressional committee or government authority would be suspended and discharged if questions were not answered or government clearance obtained within a 90-day period. The policy was retroactive for six months.

A SHOCKED PAPER: To workers seeking a tough union, this meant an economic death sentence for any militant steward or local union officer accused by company stoolpigeons and paid liars. In spite of the GE announcement more than 5,000 of Lynn's 11,500 GE workers voted for UE in the Dec. 10 election. IUE survived by 750 votes.

But the battle was not over.

In Pittsfield, Mass., a big GE town,

(Continued on Page 7)

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YOU Can Help Reverse Smith Act Convictions

The appeal in the celebrated case of the **U. S. v. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn** and her 12 co-defendants in the second Foley Square trial will come before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in late February or March.

The late Harold L. Ickes, Secretary of the Interior in FDR's cabinet, said of this case that it is "Perhaps the most important constitutional case in our country's history."

Mr. Ickes did not exaggerate. A reversal of the lower Court convictions in the case of the 13 Communist defendants would cripple the McCarthy conspiracy to destroy the Bill of Rights and give renewed courage to defenders of American constitutional liberties everywhere.

Such a reversal of the unjust convictions is entirely possible.

The U.S. Supreme Court split 4-4 on the merits and wisdom of the Smith Act prosecutions in the first Foley Square trial. The late Chief Justice Vinson said of future cases: "Where there is doubt as to the intent of the defendants, the nature of their activities or their power to bring about the evil, **the Court will review the convictions with the scrupulous care demanded by our Constitution."**

The Appeal is based upon 3 grounds:

1. No evidence was produced linking any of the defendants directly with specfic intent to cause the overthrow of the government by force and violence.

2. No evidence was produced showing a "clear and present danger" of overthrow of the U.S. government by the defendants. Even the Smith Act, which Justices Black and Douglas consider unconstitutional, requires that **specific intent** and **clear and present danger** must be proven.

3. (a) The Judge permitted prejudicial testimony which had no connection with the defendants.

(b) Certain members of the Jury were proven in court to be prejudiced.

HELP! The Citizens Emergency Defense Conference calls upon you to help in this key fight to preserve the Bill of Rights and to repeal the Smith Act. **We must raise $25,000 to meet the costs of this case.**

As we stated in our original appeal in March, 1952: "Support of this case requires no position on the political program of the defendants. It requires only a defense of their Constitutional rights."

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LABOR

Jenks, Hupman get 5 years in T-H oath cases; Bryson trial near

A FEDERAL JURY in El Paso, Tex., last week deliberated 22 minutes and returned a guilty verdict against Clinton Jencks, intl. rep. of the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union. Jencks was charged with "falsely swearing" in a 1950 Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavit. Judge R. E. Thomason sentenced him to five years in prison, then authorized his release in $10,000 bail.

The trial opened Jan. 11. The jury was composed predominantly of "owners and managers of business enterprises," defense counsel John T. McTernan charged, and women were excluded. For two months before the trial, State Atty. Gen. Shepperd and Gov. Shivers of Texas led a campaign to smear the union. This, McTernan said, made it "impossible for any human being to act as a fair and impartial observer." Four radio stations refused the union time and the two El Paso newspapers refused advertising space.

CLINTON JENCKS
Not even half an hour

BACK TO BAYARD: The prosecution of Jencks was the climax to a campaign of vengeance against Mine-Mill which followed the successful strike against Empire Zinc at Bayard, N. M., in which Jencks was a leader. Jencks plays a leading role in the film **Salt of the Earth** (soon to be released) which is based on the E-Z strike.

Government witnesses against him included a bank vice-president and former mayor of Bayard, a paid-informer clergyman of Los Angeles, and two former representatives of Mine-Mill, one now an official of Kennecott Copper, against which the union won a bitter strike in 1951. Both testified to alleged Communist meetings attended by them with Jencks in late 1946 and early 1947. Evidence was introduced to show that one was not even in New Mexico when the meetings were held; the other admitted the meetings discussed only union matters.

A PIGEON POPS UP: A "star" witness against Jencks was Harvey Matusow, a former Communist turned government informer. He testified to meeting Jencks in 1950 at the San Cristobal Ranch, operated till last year by Craig and Jenny Vincent near Taos, N. M. Matusow was hired by the Vincents when he lost his job on a New York newspaper. At the trial he admitted receiving $10,000 in 1952 for his anti-communist activities, including sums from the Wisconsin McCarthy Club for campaigning for McCarthy, and from the Republican Party for campaigning for Sen. Watkins in Utah.

On Jan. 8 Vincent, a member of the War Shipping Administration and a founder of the Progressive Party in 1948 (he has since returned to the Democratic Party), appeared in El Paso District Court, under government subpena to make him produce the ranch's 1950 guest list. When Vincent invoked the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer any questions in court, Judge Thomason held him in contempt.

The Vincents (she is a noted folk singer and composer) have closed their ranch as a guest resort and will operate it as a farming and livestock ranch. They said the resort was a victim of McCarthyism, that they had been subjected to a newspaper campaign designed to put them out of business.

HUPMAN GETS 5 YEARS: In Cincinnati, Melvin Hupman, a former leader of Frigidaire Local 804, United Electrical Workers (ind.), was convicted on Jan. 15 on a T-H false-swearing charge, sentenced to five years and fined $5,000.

A previous trial in Dayton, O., resulted in a hung jury; four members of the panel (one a Negro) voted for acquittal. The government succeeded in moving the second trial to Cincinnati, where labor spies and stoolpigeons are a less familiar phenomenon. The government used peremptory challenges to remove three Negroes. Judge John H. Druffel refused to remove from the jury a millionaire banker friend.

BRYSON TRIAL NEAR: Later this month or early in March a similar trial will be held in Washington, D. C., for Hugh Bryson, pres. of the Natl. Union of Marine Cooks & Stewards (ind.), the first national union leader to be indicted on a Taft-Hartley oath charge. Ben Gold, pres. of the Fur & Leather Workers, was subsequently indicted. The trial has been removed to the capital from San Francisco, the union charges,

". . . to make sure Bryson is separated from the city where he is best known for his courageous and militant leadership. [It also] imposes on the union extraordinary legal expenses for legal costs and transporting witnesses."

There will be a reception for Bryson (adm. $1) at New York's Hotel McAlpin Ballroom Tuesday, March 2, at 8 p.m.

The Progressive Party program

Following is a summary of the program adopted by the Natl. Committee of the Progressive Party at its meeting in New York Jan. 16-17:

I. Jobs and Security in a Peacetime Economy

$1.25 minimum wage with overtime after 30 hours.

$50 weekly unemployment compensation, with additional dependency allowances.

Defeat the Butler and Goldwater Bills to McCarranize labor, the Eisenhower strike-breaking proposal of U. S.-supervised strike votes. Fight all state anti-labor legislation. Repeal Taft-Hartley and re-enact the Wagner Act.

Call for the 1948 Progressive farm program, later incorporated in the Brannan Plan; guarantee 100% parity; defeat the Eisenhower-Benson "flexible" price-support plan.

Halt surrender of federal lands and resources to power and lumber trusts and corporate farms.

Restore Farm Security, Rural Electrification and Soil Conservation programs.

Provide jobs and markets through removal of foreign trade barriers against China, Eastern Europe and U. S. S. R.

Tax exemptions of $4,000 for families of four, $2,000 for individuals; repeal excise taxes on necessities; defeat sales tax and reductions of taxes on corporate dividends; re-enact excess profits tax; plug high-bracket and corporation loopholes.

$200 a month old age benefits, extended to those not now covered with additional dependency allowances.

National health program providing universal medical, dental and hospital care.

National housing program of 2.5 million low-rent homes a year.

$2 billion annually for 10 years for new schools and teacher salaries.

More flood control and irrigation projects like TVA; emergency and long-range public works programs for roads, parks, hospitals, recreation centers, etc.

II. Peace by Negotiation

Expansion of the Berlin Conference to include China and discussion of international tension in other areas. No remilitarization but a Germany united as a democratic nation which will not again become a threat to peace.

Immediate resumption of negotiations for a Korean peace conference; support for reconvening UN to assure conclusion of Korean peace.

Progressive universal disarmament, including outlawing of atomic weapons.

A Congressional Joint Resolution reaffirming Congress' exclusive constitutional right to declare war and denying any other right to order armed attack against any foreign nation without prior declaration of war.

U. S. support for economic and political rights of colonial peoples.

III. Restoration of the Bill of Rights

Repeal of Smith Act, McCarran and McCarran-Walter Acts and the Federal Loyalty Program.

Defeat proposals to legalize wire-tapping, cancel citizenship of Smith Act victims, undermine the Fifth Amendment.

Deny appropriations to McCarthy Committee on Government Operations for illegal inquisitions and smear campaigns.

Abolish the Senate Committee on Internal Security and the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

IV. Full Equality for Negro People and Other Minority Groups

Immediate hearings on and enactment of a Federal FEPC.

Enact anti-poll-tax and anti-lynch laws.

Executive action to end discrimination in the District of Columbia.

Appointment of a Negro to the D. C. Board of Commissioners and inclusion of Negroes among Federal Court appointees.

Removal of Gov. Byrnes of S. Carolina as a UN delegate.

Urge and assist full Negro registration in the South.

CALENDAR

Chicago

SAT. EVE., FEB. 6, 8:30. See "Grand Illusion," great anti-war classic. Hear John Marsalka, editor Nova Doba, on meaning of Big Four Meeting in Berlin. Walsh's Hall, 1014 N. Noble, at Milwaukee Av. Donation 75c, benefit A. P. C.

Attend a Reception in honor of REV. WILLIAM T. BAIRD and CELIA L. ZITRON, Seecretary, Natl. Committee to Win Amnesty for the Smith Act Victims, SUN., FEB. 7, 8 p.m.; at the home of Theresa C. Ehrlich, 3518 West Augusta Blvd. No admission charge. Auspices: Chicago Comm. to Win Amnesty.

San Francisco

LOUIS E. BURNHAM, Editor of Freedom, speaks on "Negro Rights and the Fight Against McCarthyism," at Negro History Celebration, Fri., Feb. 12, 150 Golden Gate Av., 8 p.m. Auspices: California Labor School, IPP. Donation: 50c.

Los Angeles

First Unitarian Church, Piano Recital by LOWNDES MAURY. Bach, Italian Concerto; Stravinsky, Serenade; Debussy, Chopin. 2936 W. 8th St., just east of Vermont. Sun., Feb. 15, 3 p.m. 50c

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Records

THE PROSPECTS OF PEACE. William Mandel's 30-minute L.P. "Issue of the Month" No. 2, now in preparation. No 1, "Why McCarthyism Will Be Licked," still available. Subscription only. 3 months for $5. Freedom Discs, Box 182, Audubon Station, N. Y. C. 32.

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UE story

(Continued from Page 5)

the Berkshire **Evening Eagle** on Dec. 12 in an editorial entitled "Private Constitutional Repeal" expressed itself as "shocked" at GE's announcement, which meant that

". . . GE has proclaimed that the protection against self-incrimination has been repealed as far as the company is concerned. . . . If appealing to the Fifth Amendment brings discharge, why cannot appeal to the First Amendment guaranteeing free speech, incur the same penalty? [Few days later GE announced its new policy applied to the First Amendment, too.]

". . . What is the new Americanism when invoking the document on which American liberties and the American nation itself are based is treated as admission of treason?"

That the editorial burned up GE is no secret in any of the 45 cities where GE has plants. The **Eagle's** sentiments were echoed in York, Pa., and by widely scattered papers such as Des Moines **Register**, Raleigh (S. C.), **Observer** and the Providence **Journal**.

EMSPAK HEARING: Meanwhile, in Supreme Court hearings Jan. 12-13 on the contempt case of UE's secy.-treas. Julius Emspak for invoking the First and Fifth Amendments before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Justice Frankfurter reprimanded the government for implying that invoking the Fifth Amendment indicated guilt. He said:

"This is the kind of interpretation which is far too generally spread. Some people do so who should know better. You go back and tell the Dept. of Justice that the Fifth Amendment is also protection for the innocent."

Justiice Jackson said to the government prosecutor:

"According to your interpretation, if a person claims the Fifth Amendment, he is either a criminal or a liar. You know that isn't so. Innocent people claim the Fifth Amendment."

FIRST TEST: The Emspak appeal challenges for the first time the constitutionality of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Against GE's "private constitutional repeal," UE is endeavoring to reach a broad public with the facts behind it and its implications. (The action was promptly endorsed by the Defense Dept., which urged that other companies do the same.)

The editorial attack led by the Berkshire **Eagle** was joined in by a dozen or more publications. GUARDIAN readers, in addition to responding to the requests in UE's advertisement below, should telephone or visit local newspaper editors, calling these comments to attention for editorial notice.

McCarthyism Enters the Shops!

ON DECEMBER 9, 1953, the General Electric Co. officially introduced McCarthyism into its vast network of factories.

GE announced that it would fire any employee who refused to fully cooperate with any congressional committee. Thus, any union man or woman who refuses to join McCarthy against the people, will be dismissed.

Said UE's General Executive Board on the subject: "GE is sponsoring McCarthyism in America in the same manner and for the same purpose that Krupp sponsored Hitlerism in Germany."

UE, representing 320,000 workers in the nation, believes that all America should speak up in protest against McCarthyism . . . especially GE's use of it. Write a letter, as a consumer, to GE (Schenectady, N. Y.), urging that the Constitution be protected.

The following informative materials are available through UE on the subject:

WHAT IS McCARTHYISM?—popular 24-page illustrated pamphlet on McCarthyism from labor's point of view. 3 cents.

STOP McCARTHYISM—phonograph record, two sides, presenting hard-hitting speeches of UE's general officers on McCarthyism at UE's recent convention. $1.

GE SETS THE CLOCK BACK—four-page leaflet on GE's McCarthy policy. Free.

"YOU'RE A LIAR, SENATOR"—from testimony of UE Director of Organization Matles before McCarthy committee. Free.

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- ☐ "YOU ARE A LIAR, SENATOR"—leaflet, free

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RALEIGH (N. C.) NEWS & OBSERVER

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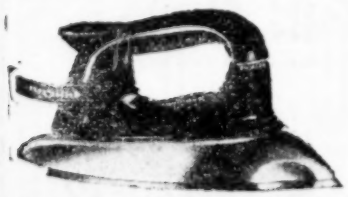

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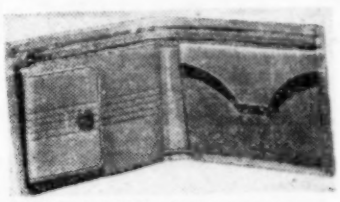

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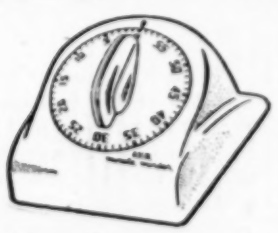

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Shipping wgts. 3 lbs.		
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WEIGHT IN LBS. OVER 8 OZ. TO	Local	1 & 2 Up to 150 Miles	3 150 to 300 Miles	4 300 to 600 Miles	5 600 to 1,000 Miles	6 1,000 to 1,400 Miles	7 1,400 to 1,800 Miles	8 Over 1,800 Miles
1	$0.18	$0.23	$0.23	$0.24	$0.26	$0.28	$0.30	$0.32
2	.20	.27	.29	.31	.36	.40	.46	.51
3	.21	.31	.34	.38	.45	.52	.61	.69
4	.23	.35	.39	.45	.54	.64	.76	.87
5	.24	.39	.44	.52	.63	.76	.91	1.05
6	.26	.43	.49	.59	.73	.88	1.06	1.23
7	.27	.47	.54	.66	.82	1.00	1.22	1.41
8	.29	.51	.60	.73	.91	1.12	1.37	1.59
9	.30	.55	.65	.80	1.00	1.24	1.52	1.77
10	.32	.59	.70	.87	1.10	1.36	1.67	1.95
11	.33	.63	.75	.93	1.19	1.48	1.82	2.13
12	.34	.67	.80	1.00	1.28	1.60	1.98	2.31
13	.36	.71	.85	1.07	1.37	1.72	2.13	2.49
14	.37	.75	.90	1.14	1.47	1.84	2.28	2.67
15	.39	.79	.96	1.21	1.56	1.96	2.43	2.85
16	.40	.83	1.01	1.28	1.65	2.08	2.58	3.03
17	.42	.87	1.06	1.35	1.74	2.20	2.74	3.21
18	.43	.91	1.11	1.42	1.84	2.32	2.89	3.39
19	.45	.95	1.16	1.49	1.93	2.44	3.04	3.57
20	.46	.99	1.21	1.56	2.02	2.56	3.19	3.75